

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 IO-13
PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
DODE-00 TRSE-00 /070 W
-----045650 181821Z /53
O 181525Z JAN 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0288
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0458

PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR SPIERS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: TU, US
SUBJ: ANKARA ON THE EVE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT

1. WHILE I DO NOT WISH TO BURDEN YOU WITH EXCESSIVE INFORMATION,
I AM FORWARDING THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS TO GIVE YOU A
FEEL FOR THE MOOD IN ANKARA AS WE AWAIT YOUR ARRIVAL.

2. THERE IS A FEELING OF EUPHORIA IN ANKARA NOW NOT UNLIKE
THAT WHICH INVADES WASHINGTON AT THE BEGINNING OF A NEW
ADMINISTRATION. REALISTICALLY, IT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE TOO LONG
BEFORE UNFULFILLED PROMISES AND OVERWHELMING PROBLEMS BEGIN TO
UNDERMINE THIS FEELING. BEFORE THAT HAPPENS, WE SHOULD MAKE
EVERY EFFORT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS BRIEF PERIOD OF HOPE AND
START OUR PROBLEMS WITH TURKEY DOWN THE ROAD TO SOLUTION. YOUR
VISIT IS A FIRST STEP IN THAT PROCESS.

3. THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR THIS EUPHORIA--AND THE CENTRAL
FIGURE IN OUR PLANS--IS BULENT ECEVIT, AN UNCOMMON MAN.
YOU HAVE MET AND DEALT WITH HIM, AND AS YOU WILL REMEMBER,
HE IS EXCEPTIONALLY INTELLIGENT, PERSUASIVE, AND CHARMING.

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HE IS ALSO A VERY COMPLEX MAN--A RISING POPULAR POLITICAN
WHO IS CONCERNED WITH HIS DOMESTIC IMAGE, A TURKISH INTELLECTUAL
WHO IS AWARE THAT MUCH OF THE WESTERN WORLD SEES THAT CONCEPT
AS A CONTRADICTION OF TERMS, A VISIONARY WHOSE SEES
TURKEY AND HIMSELF PLAYING CENTRAL ROLES ON THE WORLD STAGE,
A MAN OF WESTERN ORIENTATION WHO LEADS A COUNTRY STILL
CONFUSED ABOUT ITS POSITION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

4. ECEVIT HAS JUST WON A MAJOR POLITICAL VICTORY. HE MAY BE ABLE TO CONSOLIDATE THE POWER HE HAS WON WITH A DRAMATIC AND SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVE. SUCH A SUCCESS WOULD BE A PERSONAL TRIUMPH AND PROVIDE HIM WITH THE POLITICAL AUTHORITY AND MOMENTUM TO ATTACK THE PERHAPS MORE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC AND DOMESTIC SECURITY PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY. IT WOULD ALSO HELP CREATE THE POPULAR CONFIDENCE IN HIS LEADERSHIP THAT WOULD MAKE TURKS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE UNPLEASANT AUSTERITY MEASURES CERTAIN TO COME.

5. ECEVIT HAS APPARENTLY CHOSEN CYPRUS AS THE FIRST MAJOR DEMONSTRATION OF HIS ABILITY TO FULFIL HIS PROMISES. HE HAS TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS; I THINK THEY ARE THE RIGHT ONES. HE WILL NEED TO TAKE MORE--AND MORE COURAGEOUS ONES--BEFORE SOLUTION APPROACHES. HE WANTS US TO BE SUPPORTIVE WITHOUT BEING OBTRUSIVE. I THINK WE CAN BE, AND I HAVE TOLD ECEVIT THAT WE HAVE NO INHERENT REASON FOR INVOLVING OURSELVES IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM--IF IT CAN BE RESOLVED WITHOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT. I THINK YOU WILL WANT TO UNDERLINE BOTH ELEMENTS OF THAT POSITION.

6. BUT ECVIT'S INTEREST IN MEETING WITH YOU GOES WELL BEYOND CYPRUS OR DOMESTIC POLITICS. THE CENTRAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE FACING HIM IS THE UNCERTAINTY OF TURKEY'S DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND NATO. GIVEN TURKEY'S EXPOSED
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POSITION AS THE ALLY OF ONE SUPERPOWER AND THE NEIGHBOR OF THE OTHER, ECEVIT HAS A FUNDAMENTAL NEED TO KNOW WHETHER GLOBAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE CHANGING IN A WAY THAT SUGGESTS THE NEED FOR ALTERING TURKEY'S GEOPOLITICAL ROLE, AND ESPECIALLY TURKEY'S MILITARY STANCE TOWARD THE USSR. ECEVIT'S NEED TO KNOW IS UNDERLINED BY TURKEY'S INCREASING DIFFICULTIES--DUE TO OUR ARMS EMBARGO AND ITS OWN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS--IN MAINTAINING THE MILITARY STRENGTH NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN ITS CURRENT STANCE. FURTHERMORE, ECEVIT SEEMS TO SHARE OTHER TURKISH INTELLECTUALS' DOUBTS ABOUT THE EFFECT OF US-SOVIET DETENTE ON TURKISH SECURITY, AND ABOUT WHETHER TURKEY'S TRADITIONAL NATO ROLE HAS NOT BEEN MADE OBSOLETE. IN ADDITION, ECEVIT CLEARLY BELIEVES THAT TURKEY HAS GIVEN MORE THAN IT GETS FROM OUR ALLIANCE, AND HE IS DETERMINED TO GET A BETTER BALANCE IN RELATIONS WITH US AND OTHER NATO PARTNERS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ANKARA 0458

PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR SPIERS

7. MY READING OF ECEVIT IS THAT HE HAS CHOSEN TO IMPROVE
RELATIONS WITH HIS STONGEST ALLY, AND THAT HE IS NOT INTERESTED
IN THE GROSS ALTERNATIVE OF WITHDRAWING FROM NATO AND TURING
TO THE SOVIETS. BUT THE PRESSURES TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH
THE SOVIET UNION ARE GREAT. HE HAS INHERITED FROM THE
DEMIREL GOVERNMENT:

-- A POSITION AS A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE;

-- AN ACCEPTED INVITATION TO VISIT MOSCOW AND A
COMMITMENT TO SIGN A " POLITICAL DOCUMENT" ON FRIENDSHIP AND
COOPERATION (BOTH OF WHICH ARE STEPS IN THE SOVIETS' EFFORT TO
TRANSLATE THE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS INTO IMPROVED
POLITICAL RELATIONS);

--RECONFIRMATION OF A LONG-STANDING POLICY OF NOT
BUCKING THE SOVIETS ON INTERPRETING THE MONTREUX CONVENTION
GOVERNING PASSAGE THROUGH THE STRAITS AND OVERFLIGHTS (THE LATEST
INSTANCE INVOLVING OVERFLIGHTS TO ETHIOPIA);

--AN ECONOMY IN CRISIS, WITH FOREIGN ARREARAGES
OF SOME \$2 BILLION, RESERVES DOWN TO \$475 MILLION, REFUSAL
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OF FOREIGN BANKS TO EXTEND NEW CREDITS, PAYMENTS PROBLEMS
WITH LIBYA AND IRAQ, TURKEY'S TWO SUPPLIERS OF PETROLEUM,
AND AN INFLATION RATE OF ABOUT 40 PERCENT.
A SERIOUSLY WEAKENED DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT RIDDLED WITH SPARE
PARTS PROBLEMS, EQUIPMENT OBSOLESCENCE AND AN OFFICER CORPS
INCREASINGLY QUESTIONING ITS AMERICAN TIES.

8. ECEVIT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESSURES FOR IMPROVING POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE USSR COULD WELL BE STRENGTHENED IF YOU COULD HELP HIM ANSWER FOR HIMSELF SUCH QUESTIONS AS: WHAT ARE US INTERESTS IN TURKEY? ARE THE INTELLIGENCE INSTALLATIONS IMPORTANT? IS THE US COMMITMENT TO TURKEY'S DEFENSE RELIABLE? IS US FOREIGN POLICY HOSTAGE TO ETHNIC POLITICS? SHOULD TURKEY COVER ITS FLANK BY ATTENUATING ITS NATO RELATIONSHIP AND IMPROVING ITS TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION? WOULD DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPON IMPROVE OR ENDANGER TURKISH SECURITY?

9. TURKEY'S CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE ON ECEVIT'S MIND. IF HE CHOOSES TO DISCUSS IT WITH YOU, I'M NOT SURE WHAT TACK HE WILL TAKE. I DO NOT THINK HE BELIEVES THAT THERE IS AN ECONOMIC EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY, BUT HE BELIEVES THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO HAS AGGRAVATED TURKEY'S DIFFICULTIES. HE MAY APPEAL FOR UNDERSTANDING OF TURKEY'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND PROVIDE ASSURANCES THAT THEY WILL RECEIVE PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE TREATMENT.

10. WHAT IT SEEMS TO ME WE SHOULD GET FROM ECEVIT DURING YOUR VISIT ARE THE FOLLOWING:

A) A REAFFIRMATION OF TURKISH COMMITMENT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN SOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND A REPEATED RECOGNITION THAT WE HAVE A LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN A JUST SOLUTION;

B) AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW ECEVIT VIEWS THE FUTURE OF
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OUR BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP; I.E., HOW CLOSE A BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP HE WANTS AND WHETHER THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT IS THE VEHICLE HE WANTS TO USE; AND

C) AGREEMENT THAT TURKEY WILL CONDUCT HER RALTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ACCORD WITH NATO INTERESTS.

11. IN RETURN WE CAN GIVE HIM THE FOLLOWING:

A) REASSURANCE THAT US-SOVIET DETENTE IS A PRODUCT OF, NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR, A STRONG WESTERN ALLIANCE;

B) REASSURANCE THAT WE ARE TRULY INTERESTED IN RESTORING THE US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT WE ARE FLEXIBLE AND WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE OURSELVES TO HIS POLITICAL NEEDS;

C) REASSURANCE THAT WE WILL BE EVENHANDED IN OUR DEALINGS WITH TURKEY AND GREECE, THAT WE WILL BE SUPPORTIVE OF POSITIVE TURKISH EFFORTS ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND AEGEAN ISSUES, AND THAT WE WILL NOT PERMIT GREEK AND GREEK CYPRIOT NEGATIVE REACTION TO BONAFIDE TURKISH PROPOSALS TO COLOR OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THOSE PROPOSALS -- OR INHIBIT OUR PLANS TO RESTORE OUR BILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP; AND

D) REASSURANCE THAT WE ARE CONCERNED, SYMPATHETIC AND INTERESTED IN THE TURKISH ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THAT,

WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, WE ARE PREPARED
TO BE AS HELPFUL AS WE CAN.
SPIERS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MINISTERIAL VISITS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ANKARA00458
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780027-0305
Format: TEL
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780152/aaaabrox.tel
Line Count: 227
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b5bccfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3758660
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANKARA ON THE EVE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT
TAGS: PGOV, OVIP, TU, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: STATE JERUSALEM
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b5bccfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014